

Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 050909

EXDIS, DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS; FOR ATHERTON

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1, 2

TA PEPR, PGOV, IS, EG, XF

SUBJECT: SADAT'S ORAL MESSAGE
REF: CAIRO 6172

WE HAVE GONE THROUGH SADAT'S ORAL MESSAGE AT THE STAFF
LEVEL. DRAWING ON SUGGESTIONS ALREADY MADE, WE HAVE
REVISED THE MESSAGE. IT INCLUDES A MAXIMUM OF
SADAT'S OWN LANGUAGE BUT SOFTENS THE CONFRONTATIONAL TONE
OF CERTAIN PASSAGES. IT ALSO REFLECTS KEY OMISSIONS OR
REVISES CERTAIN SENSITIVE, SUBSTANTIVE POINTS. DO NOT
FEEL BOUND, BUT USE IT AS YOU SEE FIT. BEGIN TEXT:

1. I AM DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT THE PEACE EFFORTS TO DATE
ARE MOVING IN THE WRONG DIRECTION AND ARE NOT IN THE SPIRIT
OF MY PEACE INITIATIVE IN GOING TO JERUSALEM. WHEREAS WE
SHOULD BE DEALING WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF A COMPREHENSIVE
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PEACE SETTLEMENT, WE ARE UNFORTUNATELY STILL DEALING WITH
PROCEDURE AND WORDING. THIS IS WHAT MADE ME RECALL MY FOR-
EIGN MINISTER FROM JERUSALEM BECAUSE I FELT THAT WE COULD
SPEND ANOTHER TWO OR THREE YEARS NEGOTIATING IN THE MANNER
OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE IN JERUSALEM.

--WORDING WILL BE EASY IF WE AGREE ON THE SUBSTANCE. AND MY

INITIATIVE AIMED PRECISELY AT GETTING AWAY FROM PROCEDURAL AND WORDING PROBLEMS AND GOING DIRECTLY TO SUBSTANCE. I

HAVE HOPED THAT A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES WOULD INCORPORATE BASIC DECISIONS OF SUBSTANCE.

--UNFORTUNATELY, DESPITE THE JERUSALEM AND ISMAILIA MEETINGS AND MY TALKS IN THE U.S. AND EUROPE, WE STILL FIND OURSELVES IN THE SAME POSITION THAT WE WERE IN PRIOR TO MY VISIT TO JERUSALEM. WHAT ISRAEL HAS RAISED IN THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL COMMITTEES COULD HAVE BEEN RAISED IN THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND BORE NO RELATIONSHIP TO MY NEW CONCEPT OF PEACE AS MATERIALIZED IN MY INITIATIVE.

--IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE THE PEACE WE BOTH WANT, OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS MUST REACH AN UNDERSTANDING ON THE BASIC GUIDELINES FOR THAT PEACE. ONE SUCH UNDERSTANDING IS THAT IN RETURN FOR SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, RECOGNIZED BORDERS AND GENUINE PEACE OFFERED BY THE ARABS, ISRAEL WILL BE PREPARED TO WITHDRAW ITS MILITARY FORCES FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967.

2. I AM STILL COMMITTED TO PEACE. I AM NOT AGAINST RECONVENING THE POLITICAL OR THE MILITARY COMMITTEE BUT WE SHOULD GET THEM OUT OF THE WRONG DIRECTION THEY HAVE TAKEN IN ORDER TO ALLOW THEM TO ENGAGE IN THE RIGHT DIALOGUE. I
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AM NOT SEEKING TO IMPOSE CONDITIONS. NOR AM I SAYING THAT WE WILL NOT CONVENE OR HAVE DIRECT CONTACTS UNLESS ISRAEL DOES CERTAIN THINGS. NOR IN FACT IS THERE ANY GREAT USE TO SHUTTLEING BACK AND FORTH WHEN WE HAVE NOT AGREED ON THE MAIN GUIDELINES OF A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT.

--I AGREE THAT THE ATHERTON MISSION SHOULD CONTINUE. I AM READY TO HAVE THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL COMMITTEES RESUME. BUT LET US NOT CONVENE AND THEN LET DOWN THE WHOLE WORLD.

--I AM PREPARED TO LET THIS PROCESS CONTINUE. BUT, IF IT FAILS, I WILL HAVE TO TELL MY PEOPLE THE TRUTH. I CANNOT DECEIVE THEM. AND WHAT WILL THEN HAPPEN I DO NOT KNOW.

3. LET US AGREE THAT ISRAEL HAS NEED FOR SECURITY. AND LET US ALSO AGREE THAT SECURITY SHOULD NOT BE AT THE EXPENSE OF LAND OR SOVEREIGNTY. THIS IS A BASIC AND ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLE OF TODAY'S WORLD. WITHOUT ACCEPTANCE OF THESE PRINCIPLES WE WILL CONTINUE TO MOVE IN CIRCLES AND LOSE PRECIOUS TIME. LET US AGREE THAT WITHDRAWAL FORESEEN IN RESOLUTION 242-WHICH WE BOTH ACCEPT-APPLIES TO ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

4. ON THE MATTER OF THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE, WHICH AS I SAID IS THE CORE OF THE PROBLEM, ISRAEL SHOULD NOT RAISE

THE ISSUES IN TERMS OF LAND AND SOVEREIGNTY AND ON THE BASIS OF THE NEGATION OF THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. A SECURITY REQUIREMENT DOES INDEED EXIST FOR ISRAEL, WHICH I FULLY RECOGNIZED. TO MEET IT I AM READY, IN THE INTERIM PERIOD BETWEEN SIGNING AN AGREEMENT AND SELF-DETERMINATION, TO TAKE MY PART IN GAZA TOGETHER WITH ISRAEL, THE PALESTINIANS AND THE UN TO INSURE SECURITY. AS TO THE WEST BANK, IN MY JUDGMENT, THE UN SHOULD INITIALLY TAKE OVER AS I HAVE AGREED WITH KING HUSSEIN. SUBSEQUENTLY, HOWEVER, A QUADRIPARTITE
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ARRANGEMENT COULD BE MADE, INCLUDING THE UN, ISRAEL, KING HUSSEIN AND THE PALESTINIANS, TO INSURE SECURITY FOR ISRAEL DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD IN THE WEST BANK.

--I RECOGNIZE THAT ISRAEL'S SECURITY CONCERNS WOULD EXTEND BEYOND THAT INTERIM PERIOD AND I AM CONFIDENT THEY WILL BE MET SATISFACTORILY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. BUT ISRAEL SHOULD BE CLEAR AND PRECISE ON THE MATTER OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA.

5. THE ENTIRE PROBLEM CAN BE SOLVED IN A FEW DAYS IF WE AGREE ON THE ELEMENTS OF A SETTLEMENT. WHEN I VISITED ISRAEL, I SAID I WISHED TO CREATE NEW FACTS AND CONCEPTIONS. ON THE EGYPTIAN SIDE THIS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. EGYPT NO LONGER HARBORS ANY BITTERNESS. WE HAVE ACCEPTED THE CONCEPT OF PEACE DESPITE OPPOSITION BY THE REJECTIONISTS.

--REGRETTABLY, THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL HAS NOT YET UNDERSTOOD THIS. IT STILL THINKS IN OTHER TERMS. BUT OUR LAND IS NOT SOMETHING WE CAN CONCEDE. EXCEPT FOR LAND AND SOVEREIGNTY, I AM READY TO GIVE EVERYTHING IN THE NATURE OF PEACE AS I HAVE ALREADY PROVED BY GOING TO JERUSALEM, BY INVITING YOU TO ISMAILIA, AND BY ESTABLISHING DIRECT CONTACTS AT THE CAIRO CONFERENCE AND IN THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY COMMITTEES.

--I HAVE DONE THIS TO GIVE ISRAEL A SENSE OF SECURITY WHICH I REALIZE IT NEEDED. MY CONCEPT IS THAT OF GOOD NEIGHBORS. AND BOTH PARTIES SHOULD DO WHATEVER IS NEEDED TO HAVE GOOD NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS. BUT WE WILL NOT CONCEDE LAND.

6. THE REJECTIONISTS AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE ACTIVE BUT
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WE ARE FACING THEM. TERRORISM LIKE THE MURDER OF YOUSSEF EL SIBAI WILL NOT CHANGE OUR RESOLVE TO REACH PEACE. BUT PRIME MINISTER BEGIN SHOULD KNOW THAT HE HAS GIVEN THEM CARDS TO PLAY AGAINST MY PEACE EFFORTS:

MENTS. THE RECORD SHOWS THAT I NEVER USED THE TERM "BURN". I SIMPLY SAID THAT THEY SHOULD BE REMOVED AND THE AIRPORTS COULD BE PLOWED UNDER BY ISRAEL AS IT HAD DONE IN 1957 IF IT IS CONCERNED THAT THEY MAY BE USED AS A BASE AGAINST IT.

--I AM SORRY THAT HE PUBLICLY CLAIMED THAT I WENT BACK ON MY WORD CONCERNING THE DEPLOYMENT OF EGYPTIAN MILITARY FORCES IN SINAI. I TOLD GAMASSY IN FRONT OF WEIZMAN THAT I HAD PROMISED PRIME MINISTER BEGIN THAT MY MAIN FORCES WILL NOT EXCEED THE PASSES. I NEVER GO BACK ON MY WORD.

--IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR ME WHEN A FEW DAYS BEFORE THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MET IN JERUSALEM, RADIO ISRAEL WAS REPORTING ABOUT SETTLEMENTS IN RAFAH, ON EGYPTIAN TERRITORY. IT MADE IT APPEAR TO THE WORLD THAT ISRAEL WAS TRYING TO CREATE A FAIT ACCOMPLI.

7. MY INITIATIVE WAS TAKEN TO FACILITATE ALL OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT UNDER LESS PRESSURE AND DIFFICULTY. IT HAS IMPROVED THE POSITION OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT WITH ITS PUBLIC OPINION.

--IT IS REGRETTABLE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL DOES NOT SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THE INTENTIONS BEHIND MY INITIATIVE.

8. AS FOR ME, I HAVE CHOSEN MY PATH. I WILL NOT LET DOWN THE HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS IN THE WORLD WHO HAVE SUPPORTED ME. OTHERWISE, I WOULD HAVE DECLARED TO THE WORLD THAT THERE IS NO CHANCE. I AM NOT SEEKING TO PUT MINES ON THE ROAD TO PEACE AND THE PEACE INITIATIVE CAN CONTINUE.

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--BUT THE WAY WE ARE WORKING WILL NEVER ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING THE ISRAELI POSITION, I REGRET TO SAY, HAS CHANGED SINCE MY VISIT TO JERUSALEM AND IS CAUSING HARM TO ME AND TO PEACE EFFORTS.

9. IF PRIME MINISTER BEGIN IS READY FOR A REAL PEACE INITIA-

TI I AM, AS I HAVE PROVED, READY TOO. I AM READY FOR,
AS THE AMERICANS SAY, "BIG BUSINESS" IF PRIME MINISTER
BEGIN IS.

--IN THAT CASE WE SHOULD DISCARD OLD CONCEPTIONS. IF THAT
IS THE CASE, I AM READY TO DO MY FULL SHARE.

--IF ON THE CONTRARY OLD CONCEPTIONS REMAIN, WE WILL BE IN
A VICIOUS CIRCLE.

10. I HAVE RISKED MUCH IN MY INITIATIVE. THE SOVIET
UNION AND OTHERS ARE WORKING HARD TO PROVE THAT I AM
WRONG. BUT I HAVE THE COURAGE TO FACE THEM, AS I HAVE
THE COURAGE, IF I DO NOT SUCCEED, TO RESIGN AT ANY MOMENT.
BUT I HOPE, FOR THE GOOD OF OUR TWO PEOPLES AND THE WHOLE
WORLD, THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO ESTABLISH JUST AND LASTING
PEACE.

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